EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE LIPSTICK WAR BY WALTER GOODMAN

THE Nation

JANUARY 21, 1956
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SECESSION, 1956 STYLE

Virginia Defies the Court

by Una F. Carter

THE BRASS-AND-GOLD ERA

Part II. of The Big Guns

by Matthew Josephson

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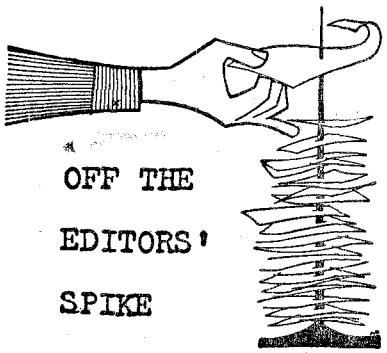

OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

● AS LONG ago as July, 1953, Lester Pearson pointed out that "nobody can shut his eyes to the fact that the Communist government of China rules 400,000,000 people"; recognition, he then said, does not mean approval: "It means allowing your diplomats to be there and see what is going on." The following year Prime Minister St. Laurent, on a world trip, echoed much the same sentiment in statements issued in Manila, Seoul and Tokyo. Last August, in Vancouver, Mr. Pearson said that the time was soon coming when Canada would have to take "another searching look" at the question of China; more recently, in an article for Look, he implied that the U. S. should take the hint and recognize China so that Canada might follow suit. Now the Toronto Star logically argues that the Canadian government should take its own advice and "go ahead and recognize Peking." After all, Britain has recognized the Chinese Communists for six years now without upsetting the free-world alliance, and with some incidental advantage. The editorial is another indication that Canadian opinion has begun to push the Ottawa government in a direction in which it would very much liked to be pushed. It is an indication, too, that time is running out for Mr. Dulles on the question of China.

● ONCE AGAIN we are approaching the season of tests. Last year's tests involved explosions of super H-bombs comparable in force to fifteen to thirty million tons of TNT. Each year the potential explosive force of the H-bombs increases; each year the hazard becomes greater; and each series of tests, by the Russians or by us, creates pressure for the testing of still mightier ones. Meanwhile the calculations of the civilian-defense officials must be reconsidered. For example, the super H-bomb, so we are told, has rendered obsolete President Eisenhower's elaborate reinforced-concrete underground bomb shelter. It seems rather silly to design a new one until the lethal curiosity of the testers has been satisfied or the good sense of mankind has succeeded in forcing a suspension of further tests.

● SOMEHOW ONE comes to associate disaster, in these troubled times, with certain personages; wherever they go, there trouble soon appears. In this connection, General Sir Gerald Templer is a man to watch. Currently he is being criticized for having been a bit too blunt and "clumsy" (New York Times, January 9, 1955) in urging the Jordanian government to join the Bagdad Pact. It was his recent visit to Jordan that triggered the recent riots. Not so long ago Victor Purcell sent us two articles which dealt with General Templer's performance in Malaya (The Nation, June 12, June 19, 1954). Wrote Mr. Purcell of the General: " . . . His achievements on the political front are even less impressive than on the military one. . . . As a first step toward uniting Malaya, General Templar had riven it into nine splinter nationalities, surrounding each with a fence of legal barbed wire; in pursuance of the aim of a common citizenship he had sidestepped equality and sown the seeds of nine warring loyalties; in implementing the aim of self-government he had conceded to a section of the people a restricted share in cranking their own parish pump. . . . The Templer experiment was like trying to mend a watch with a blunt hatchet." Of the various roving military statesmen and proconsuls of the Western Alliance, the General apparently belongs to the group of those least likely to succeed —with delicate assignments.

● SEVERAL TIMES in the last year we have had occasion to call attention to the interesting comments on the Great Boom which have been appearing in the Illinois Business Review over the signature of economist V. Lewis Bassie. (The Nation, September 3, 1955.) In his most recent comment, Mr. Bassie points out that our economic optimists have, by their chorus-like enthusiasm, erected "one-way" signs along the economic road which read "ever upward." This extreme optimism becomes, in turn, a factor in the economic situation. "The exhilaration of a joy-ride typically leads to some disregard of possible danger. The nature of the economic danger we have pointed out in previous issues. . . . We are riding the combined crest of long and short cycles—a long post war cycle and a short cycle that has been carried to an extreme. It is not a situation that can be much longer maintained."

The financial pages have not featured the sharp comments of Mr. Bassie. Nor did they feature the recent remarks of William McChesney Martin, Jr., chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, who said on January 13: "We have developed no techniques for turning the business faucet on and off, although there appears to be widespread belief that we have. I have seen a number of disquieting signs recently that people think we are lot smarter than the last time, but I am not convinced that the Federal Reserve Board, the Treasury, or business leadership is any more equal to the situation than before."

● SOME TIME back The Nation ran an editorial about the celebrated "jury-tapping" episode which so deeply aroused the ire of Mr. Brownell and Senator Eastland. The point of the comment was that these critics of the project were inconsistent in that they condemned the concealment of microphones in jury rooms but found wiretapping, as such, an unobjectionable practice. We did not intend to imply that we thought the planting of concealed microphones in jury rooms was a laudable idea. The recent action of Messrs. Brownell and Eastland—a nice bipartisan combination, this—in urging legislation which would make it illegal to conceal microphones in the rooms of either trial or grand juries meets with our unqualified approval. Critics please note.

C. McW.

NEXT WEEK
Crisis in Turkey
by Geoffrey Lewis

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts

Freda Kirchwey, Editorial Contributor
J. A. del Vayo, European Correspondent

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Secretary Dulles Must Go—Now

IN A RECENT press conference, Mr. Dulles told the country to "wake up" to the new Soviet challenge in the economic field. "Defeat in this contest," he said, "could be as disastrous as defeat in an armaments race."

No better evidence could be offered of the fact that it is Mr. Dulles himself who needs to "wake up" than his unimaginative and inept presentation at this press conference of the statement of the United States delegation at the United Nations on the necessity for greater emphasis on foreign economic aid. Now as on numerous other occasions, Mr. Dulles conveyed the impression that he was merely reacting to the latest Soviet maneuver. Because the Soviets have launched a "bitterly competitive" contest in the field of economic aid to underdeveloped countries, we must outbid them or face defeat; in other words, to win the cold war we must now engage in a cash war, too. Have we no better reason for assisting these countries? The promise of substantial economic aid might win friends for us in Asia, the Middle East and Africa; but is this the way to present such a program? Won't underdeveloped countries in these areas, and in South America, think it rather odd that the U. S. delegation, which has consistently failed to support the SUNFED program at the United Nations, should be urging American opinion to "wake up" to the needs of undeveloped areas? Was Mr. Dulles well advised to argue the necessity for increased foreign economic aid at the same press conference in which he boasted of his authorship of the "northern tier" military alliance and announced that we did not intend to suspend further H-bomb tests? The same day's news brought a story from New Delhi that the Soviet Union had offered to help India build a new aluminum industry and hydro-electric plant; the Soviets did not think it necessary to say that the offer was made because they were determined to win the cold-cash war.

In his New Year's message for 1956, Dr. Martin Niemoller voiced a sentiment which underscores the inadequacy and vulgarity of Mr. Dulles' presentation:

> We are facing the last chance of our generation. All people have to work for peace today. The situation is even much worse than we realize. The East-West struggle is not the worst problem we face. Half of the world's population is living in a state of hunger—below the minimum for existence. There are underdeveloped countries, starving countries. In Asia they have awakened, in Africa they are awakening. And it will not be long before they awaken in South America also. This hunger is a greater problem than the East-West struggle. This is the future—not Russia or America. In thirty years nobody will think of that problem. War, mass hunger and other social evils have developed as a final result of 300 years of continued domination of what we call the Christian world. It is not enough for Christians . . . to declare that war is contrary to the will of God. Something has to be done about the evils which lie at the roots of war, and something effective.

We should be pleased at the prospect that the military phase of the cold war may be transformed into a competition in economic and social leadership. We should move to assist the underdeveloped countries not out of fear or a sense of guilt but in our own self-interest. We should offer to help them—preferably through the United Nations—because with power and the opportunity for leadership which power creates go certain responsibilities.

* * *

WITHIN the next few months the State Department must cope with a long list of extremely serious problems: what to do about the "northern tier" (Baghdad) pact, with Turkey in the throes of domestic economic disorders, Jordan declining to participate, Marshall Tito expressing disapproval and the Chinese sending a trade mission to Saudi Arabia; the likelihood of an upset in Greece, with elections scheduled for February 19; anti-Greek riots in Turkey; the British sending more troops to Cyprus; how to bolster SEATO now that the formerly obliging Thais have begun to enlarge their estimates of needed economic aid; the acute situation in Algiers and Morocco with special reference to Spanish Morocco; how to improve British-American relations; how to handle the British charge that a Chinese has admitted having been promised a reward of 600,000 Hong Kong dollars ($105,000) by the Chinese Nationalists to place a bomb on the Indian airliner Kashmir Princess; the election scheduled for Indo-China this summer; ways and means of keeping Syngman Rhee on leash; how to keep the NATO alliance from coming unhinged; means of minimizing possible adverse world reaction to the H-bomb tests scheduled for the Pacific this spring; what to do about the Vatican's *demarche* aimed at achieving a nuclear accord (promptly recognized as an overture by the Kremlin in a statement saying it "commands attention," and the subject of two meetings between Dulles and the Presi-

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dent on successive days); how to keep the Burmese calm about American rice, the Canadians about American wheat; how to handle the situation that is certain to arise when various governments, disregarding stern warnings from Bonn, start to recognize the East German regime; how to remove the Soviet "foot-in-the-door" in Africa; the best means of keeping Canada from recognizing Red China too soon; the problem of Quemoy and Matsu and of Chinese-American relations generally; projecting a long-range foreign economic-aid program; reviewing the new balance-of-power in the United Nations as it relates to this country's role there.

This list is incomplete but suggestive. For reasons which we have pointed out before, currently reenforced by the "foot-in-mouth" diplomacy of a *Life* article and the furore it has aroused, Mr. Dulles is obviously not the man to be trusted with the formidable task of coping with these issues. As *The Nation* pointed out some weeks back (December 17) Mr. Dulles should go, now.

Formosa's Future

IT IS budget time in Washington. The Administration has proposed a more than 80 per cent increase in new foreign-aid money. Coincidentally, there are again timely communiques from Formosa reporting Communist shelling of the offshore islands; and Chiang Kai-shek, to make more certain that he will not be forgotten when foreign-aid booty is passed out, pledged again on Christmas Day that H-hour of the long-heralded invasion of the mainland is approaching. The situation is thus outwardly of past pattern, but great changes have taken place in the relative position of Chiang Kai-shek since the time last spring when he seemed at last to be on his way back to China on the wings of American A-bombs.

The admission of sixteen new members to the United Nations, bringing about new alignments of strong neutralist blocs and groups not subservient to the United States, coupled with Chiang's veto of the admission of Outer Mongolia, seems to be hastening the day of Communist China's own entry into the United Nations—and the unseating of Chiang's China from the Security Council. There is hardly a man alive who would not concede to the little child that the lofty emperor has no clothes on. Our maintaining of Nationalist armed forces as a sort of honor guard for the defeated Chinese warlord, who is never to return from his Elba, has served merely as a facade to justify before American taxpayers the need to shovel vast quantities of arms to the so-called arc of free nations in the Pacific-Asia area. But the Chinese on Formosa itself know that they have been snared by Chiang's paranoiac delusion that he is someday to return to the mainland's open arms.

What is the future of Formosa? The island cannot reconquer the continent. The Free Formosa Movement seems fated never to emerge from the womb. In cautious conversation in careful rendezvous, there are Chinese on Formosa who came from the mainland with Chiang in 1949, and earlier, who think perhaps the United States or the United Nations may someday break the island's boredom and deliver them from their exile, from the police state that Chiang has set up to protect his fragile hallucinations. Their attitude is, "A pox on both their houses; but give us the larger one, the more lived-in one at home." There are 2,000,000 of them, 400,000 of them fairly young men without wives, and all but an insignificant few still of a piece with an ancient culture bedded in the soil of the mainland.

In the first few years after 1949 they were confident. At every feast the toast was, "Back to the mainland!" But now there are fewer toasts, almost none; and more and more people are just waiting for Chiang to die. But there are small stirring signs that there may yet be a quicker way out—unless the Seventh Fleet is also to stand guard against the self-determination of Chiang's fragment of a people.

On January 2 the British Labor Party newspaper, the *Daily Herald,* reported that secret negotiations have been going on for weeks between Chiang Kai-shek and Peking. The next day Dr. Wu Nan-ju, Nationalist director of information, described the report as "too ridiculous to be dignified with a formal statement." It was most improbable, agreed; but it made for interesting speculation—for there was just a chance that the *Daily Herald* report may have identified the negotiators as Peking and another Chiang: Lieutenant General Chiang Ching-kuo, the Generalissimo's eldest son, commissar of political commissars in his father's armed forces and chief of the Formosa gestapo.

So long ago as last spring, as reported in *The Nation* of March 19, there were rumors in Hong Kong that Chiang Ching-kuo was planning a coup. K. C. Wu, the banished former governor of Formosa, now living in the United States, long ago put his finger on Chiang Ching-kuo as a man of "overweening ambition," the real ruler of Formosa, who would someday probably take the island back to mainland rule under the Communists. Consider the man: In 1926 Chiang Ching-kuo was bundled off to Moscow to study. He became a factory worker, took a Russian wife, and in 1936, when he had been there ten years, he addressed an open letter to his mother, the Generalissimo's divorced wife, in reply to an appeal from her that he return home. The letter, published in the Leningrad *Pravda,* said:

> Your son has found the road to a new life and will never go home to drag out there the miserable existence of a timid weapon in the hands of a mountebank father.
>
> Don't you remember, Mother, how he dragged you by the hair from the second floor? Whom did you implore on your knees not to throw you out of the house? Was it not he?
>
> Who drove grandmother to the grave by beatings and insults? Was it not he? That was all done by a man who now babbles of filial affection and family morals.

Chiang Ching-kuo returned suddenly in 1937, a year

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after he had written the damning letter. There was a reconciliation with his father, young Chiang became a major general, later the land-reform governor of southern Kiangsi; and in 1948, in Shanghai, it was he who rounded up the city's hidden gold to swell the escape coffers of the Kuomintang.

Heber Blankenhorn

IN THE death New Year's Day of Heber Blankenhorn the nation has lost a brilliant public servant and the labor movement a devoted strategist. Because he shunned personal publicity to the end, few knew of his signal contributions to the nation. A reporter on the New York *Sun* in the 1910s, Blankenhorn shocked his editor by insisting that the Paterson silk workers strike should be reported as a labor and not a police story. From his experiences in that strike, in which John Reed and Gurley Flynn rose to national prominence, arose his lifelong interest in the labor movement. During World War I he pioneered military propaganda behind the German lines and was credited in large measure for helping to establish liaison with the German revolutionary movement. Back in this country in 1919, he worked with Bishop McConnell on the celebrated Interchurch World report on the 12-hour day in the steel industry. In the 1920s he covered Europe and particularly the League of Nations for *Labor,* the national railwaymen's newspaper. With the New Deal, he returned to this country and became labor adviser to Senator Wagner, serving in 1934-35 as secretary of the NRA labor board. From his experiences there (the main penalty against employers who refused to deal with unions was withdrawal of their Blue Eagle) he drafted the Wagner-Connery labor-relations act and helped steer its passage on the Hill. After that he handled public relations for the National Labor Relations Board and worked closely with Senator LaFollette on the civil-liberties investigations into the tear-gas and machine-gun era of labor relations.

In World War II Blankenhorn was called back into military propaganda work with OSS. In North Africa and Italy he used techniques he had developed in World War I to cooperate with labor and revolutionary leaders behind the lines to achieve the overthrow of the fascist regime. After the war he spent two years at the Pentagon on a handbook of propaganda techniques. Although honored with citations and medals for his brilliant work in both world wars, Blankenhorn never used his title of colonel and insisted on regarding himself as a civilian specialist attached temporarily to the military.

In bad health, he retired in 1947 to live in Alexandria, Virginia. But when neither the Detroit police nor the United Auto Workers could make any headway in solving the mysterious shootings of the Reuther brothers, "Blank" was called in by the union to peer into the murky depths of Detroit anti-labor gangsterism. He initiated the search which led to the criminals; that they were not punished is another story. A by-product of his Detroit efforts was the inquiry conducted there by Senator Kefauver.

One of the most brilliant public-relations strategists this country has produced, Blankenhorn resolutely shunned the limelight. Fortunately in the final pain-wracked months of his life, a university team armed with a tape-recorder was able to get him to talk. In those recordings is the fascinating behind-scenes story of vital events, from the ending of the twelve-hour day in steel, through the establishment of law in the jungle of labor relations, the elaboration of revolutionary techniques for the overthrow of reactionary and fascist regimes, down to his final probing into the dark and bloody recesses of the Detroit underworld.

The Nation's sympathy goes to his widow, well-known to readers under pen name of Ann Craton.

HARVEY O'CONNOR

Revolt of the Motorists

Since 1934 the Automobile Club of New York, a nonprofit membership corporation, has been run with an autocratic efficiency that might well incite the admiration of Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo y Molina. Control has been tightly vested in an insurance agency which holds bonds of the club valued at $22,500 that the officers prefer not to redeem although the club, as such, owns assets valued at $6,189,462. As long as the bonds remain unpaid, the agency is entitled to vote ballots roughly equal to a third of the total membership—an arrangement designed to discourage rank-and-file participation in policy-making.

To its 328,000 members, the club offers many excellent services: a discount on gasoline purchases, convenient wrecking and towing services and similar facilities. As long as it remained a service organization, the members were quite indifferent to the lack of democratic control. But last year the management, without authorization by the membership, vigorously opposed adoption of a highway-construction proposal which, incidentally, failed to win approval. As a result, members are now demanding democratization of the club's management. As usually happens in rank-and-file revolts, the insurgents are asking questions: Why hasn't the $22,500 debt been paid? Why does the club discriminate against Negroes in its personnel policies? Why does it continue to retain its affiliation with the national A. A. A., which sometimes recommends hotels that bar Jews? The club's venture from service into politics may well trigger a chain reaction across the country. For the club's president is quoted as saying: "There isn't an automobile club in the United States in which this manner of control is not used." Can this be true? If so, it might explain the discriminatory policies of many automobile clubs. *Nation* readers might be interested in finding out if their local club is managed as autocratically as the New York one.

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NEW DEALS AND OLD

Outlook in Congress . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington

FOR THE most informed observers the big news in the President's State of the Union message concerned the President rather than the Union. Not only was the "good Ike" in Key West during its presentation to Congress; more important, his personal imprint was totally absent from the message itself, most shockingly so in its foreign policy opening. Instead of mounting a new peace offensive to revive the now moribund "Geneva spirit," he affirmed that "our [military] security posture commands respect," though in neutral quarters, at least, it is held to be a key factor in the Geneva spirit collapse. This personal retreat suggests that a deal with the Knowland wing of the Republican Party is in the making comparable to Ike's famous Morningside Heights deal with the old Taft-McCarthy group in 1952.

Whether Ike runs or doesn't run, his leading cold-war aides, Secretary Dulles, Vice President Nixon and Admiral Strauss were freed from restraints apparently at the same time that Nelson Rockefeller, his peace aide, was allowed to retire. To be sure, neutral criticism via the Pope's unexpected Christmas message almost cancelled Strauss' super-super bomb tests now scheduled for next spring. However, meetings were held in the White House at which the President was advised (1) that the Russians had just tested a superbomb more potent than we had tested, and (2) that, on second reading, the Pope's call for a Soviet-American agreement to stop atomic tests was also the U. S. position insofar as the proposed agreement was predicated on a prior one on international controls. As to Nixon: the President's trouble-shooter, when asked recently by reporters what the Administration would do if Red China reopened its campaign in the Formosa Straits, he replied, in effect, "Threaten massive retaliation as we did so successfully last year." It is the great strength of this Administration as compared with its predecessor, he continued in this startling off-the-record session, that we are not bound by our Allies to a purely defensive posture.

That "massive retaliation" (a term, incidentally, that was not in the President's message) is no permanent solution to our Red China relations must be obvious even to the Vice President. However, for campaign purposes, it survives despite Democratic candidate Stevenson's increasingly bold attacks on it. That these criticisms have not been more effective is because they have come so often after the event rather than before it, and also, to borrow a Stevenson phrase, because they are "schizophrenic." That is to say, while Stevenson attacks the Eisenhower Administration for its blustering diplomacy, he is himself provoking criticism for his equally blustering sabre-rattling and for his excessive emphasis on the international arms race.

STEVENSON'S allies in Congress, including Senators Mansfield of Montana and Monroney of Oklahoma, will attempt to soften U. S. foreign policy this year by demilitarizing the foreign-aid program. But just how this worthy objective can be accomplished without damaging our margin of arms superiority (without, for example, destroying our B-47 striking force, necessarily foreign-based), they have never indicated. To be sure, there are many mysteries in the foreign-aid program. Hitherto, Administration officials have refrained from publishing a country-by-country breakdown of aid totals. This is ostensibly to prevent one country from discovering how much or how little a rival country is getting. It is also, however, to conceal our clandestine meddling in foreign governments and foreign politics, designed to keep reluctant Allies in our security system. According to available information, about 75 per cent of the annual three billion dollars involved now has military significance, while the non-military Point Four program, which the Russians have lately borrowed with such telling effect, represents only about a 5 per cent slice. The economy-minded conservative Democrats will undoubtedly reduce foreign spending this year, while rejecting the Administration's proposed $4.9 billion long-range program altogether. But that the liberal Democrats can reverse the present priority of military over non-military aid seems very doubtful.

WHILE in foreign policy the Eisenhower play is now to the Republican right wing, in his domestic policy the President has given liberal Democrats a big boost against their Southern conservative leaders—particularly on the explosive civil-rights issue. The President, to be sure, raised the question only to recommend that it be buried again in a bipartisan commission, as was done last year with the equally explosive loyalty-security issue. In cloak-room negotiations, however, in which Attorney General Brownell is a key figure, the Republican leadership is now allying itself with New Dealers to promote what Congressman Adam Clayton Powell has called "the first civil-rights bloc since the Reconstruction Era." What Republicans want, patently, is a disastrous Democratic split in a highly race-conscious election year. To what extent the Democratic liberals will run this risk by pushing for the long-stymied anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills is still unknown. However, Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson has gauchely aided the Republicans by giving top priority to the natural-gas bill opposed by liberal Democrats.

Upon the outcome of this growing intra-party split depend not only civil-rights legislation, but also the highly important school-aid bills to

EDGAR KEMLER covers the Washington scene for The Nation.

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which civil-rights amendments will be tagged; the Lehman amendment to the Walter-McCarran Act which the Administration once again mildly supports, and the controversial Hell's Canyon bill, which is an exclusively Democratic measure. As to farm legislation, the congressional battle line is still fluid, with the President's soil-bank proposal being embraced more as a pretext for Republican Senators to vote against the Democratic 90 per cent-of-parity bill than as a remedy for the farm depression. It is, indeed, an odd commentary on the Administration that it should be so stubbornly doctrinaire on farm policy while so New Dealish in its welfare program. As Democratic sources eagerly point out, the downward trend in farm prices, which began in 1951 under the Truman Administration, has been accelerated by Secretary Benson's lifting of price supports which the Democrats are now trying to restore. Yet it was not until the past few months that Benson began consulting with farm leaders on alternatives to the Democratic solution.

With this glaring exception the Republican position in 1956, as summed up in the President's message, is a strong one. That we are at peace rather than at war, considering our Indo-China war gambit and our Formosa Straits posturing, is due, in large part, to the good offices of the Churchill government. That we are now approaching a $400 billion gross product "with only a few pockets of unemployment here and there to mar the nation's industrial prosperity," and without a runaway inflation is, perhaps, due more to the blessings of providence than to fiscal wisdom. Thus, with assistance from outside sources, and with the very real, but very fitful flights of statesmanship by the President himself the Administration's policy of "giving the people the kind of government they want" rather than what they ought to have, has been enormously successful. Whether the Republicans can win again without Ike is, of course, the big conundrum. But even without Ike—in a contest, for example, between Dewey and Stevenson, which is the current speculation—the key figures will be ex-Presidents Eisenhower and Truman. Nor is there any assurance, at this time, that such a battle would be very much more illuminating on basic issues than in 1952.

SECESSION, 1956 STYLE

Virginia Defies the Court . . . *by Una F. Carter*

Alexandria, Virginia

VIRGINIA voters last week took a long step backward when they approved, two to one, a plan to amend their state constitution in an effort to thwart the Supreme Court's verdict outlawing school segregation. State Senator Garland Gray, chairman of the commission proposing the plan, said jubilantly, "Well, I guess we won the Civil War."

The decision in Virginia has implications, social and legal, that may affect public-school education everywhere for years to come. The vote was on a proposal to write into the state constitution a provision authorizing payment of tuition grants out of tax funds for children enrolled in segregated, non-sectarian private schools. By making the payments to parents, the proponents of the Gray plan believe the private schools ultimately receiving the funds would not be guilty of violating the intent of the high court's decision.

Debate preceding the referendum rent the state as has no issue in Old Dominion history. Families, churches, P. T. A.'s, school faculties, political groups were split. There will be more skirmishing, to be sure, but the results can already be seen: a call by the legislature, which met a week ago, for a constitutional convention in the next sixty days to make the tuition grants legal; and, despite Senator Harry F. Byrd's caution against haste, speedy legislative action to enact other provisions of the Gray report, on some of which —though as iniquitous as the tuition plan—the voters had no say. Included are recommendations that no child be required to attend an integrated school; that changes be made in the law relating to the assignment of teachers; that school boards be authorized to assign pupils to particular schools (with appeals provided in certain instances); that no county school board be required to furnish transportation to school children; that localities be authorized to levy property taxes to provide money for the tuition grants, among other school costs; and that the retirement laws be amended to provide for "certain teachers" in private schools.

Whatever the legislature decides on these particular issues will be the law of the state. Only on the question of tuition grants will the voters be heard from again, and then only to elect delegates to the convention under rules provided by the legislature.

It was not until November 11 that the Gray commission made its report public. Less than two months later the issue was decided. The opposition, largely spontaneous, centered on the disruptive effect of the plan on the state's public-school system. The opponents saw little hope in the fact that, in all probability, the Supreme Court will eventually strike down the tuition-payment plan—that, in fact, it will never be put into practice, irrespective of the constitutional amendment. For the damage will already have been done.

Those in opposition, many of them segregationists themselves, soft-pedaled the race issue to the maximum extent, arguing that the pupil-assignment system should be given a trial first. Little was said on either

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side about the inequities and race discrimination that might arise out of questions of teacher assignment, payment of pensions to "certain private-school teachers" and discretionary transportation of school children.

Largely overlooked, too, was the quality of education, both in the private and in the remaining public schools, under the Gray plan. In one-fifth of Virginia's counties the authorities have already stated they will close public schools rather than enforce segregation. When the legislature approves the recommendation that no child shall be required to attend a segregated school, the situation in these counties with heavy Negro populations will be immediately critical. It is taken for granted that the bulk of the school budget in these areas would be required for the tuition grants, leaving little, if anything at all, for public schools for Negroes. To meet this contingency the Gray plan opened the door for a shorter school year: "Local school boards shall be authorized, but not required, to maintain public schools for a period of at least nine months. A locality may be confronted with an emergency situation."

The formula for the tuition grants, hazy as yet, makes it clear that parents choosing to send their children to private schools—of which there are few in Virginia now, but they are expected to mushroom fast—would be required to assume some of the cost. This is one of the patent reasons the proposal has been branded "class legislation," a "rich man's program." For it is obvious that thousands of the poorer white families, regardless of their own race views, will be forced to continue their children in such public schools as remain after the cream of school funds has gone elsewhere—or send them to none at all. No school at all will be the answer in many instances.

Dr. George W. Reamy, editor of the *Virginia Methodist Advocate*, stated one widely-held view when he said that "wholesale use of public money for private elementary and high school tuition grants" would mean that "we would have inferior, integrated schools for the poor, and state assistance for better, segregated schools for those who might well afford them from their own funds."

Virginians claim Thomas Jefferson as the father of public-school education. Yet the fact remains that only within the past twenty years has the state's public-school system, still poor by national standards, been appreciably improved. Improvement is due to many factors, not least of which was the spurt given to school construction in the thirties through federal programs. Some of Virginia's newer schools are among the best equipped and most

Madison and "Nullification" . . . *by Irving Brant*

VIRGINIANS promoting the state amendment to evade school integration by using public money in private schools are well aware that the Supreme Court is likely to strike the move down as a subterfuge. To salvage their plan in that event, they are resurrecting the 1830 doctrine of "nullification" under the less aromatic name of "interposition." A set of resolutions modeled on the famous Virginia Resolutions of 1798 against the Alien and Sedition laws is being promoted in the Virginia General Assembly, which opened its session on January 11. The resolutions call on other states to exercise a supposed right to "interpose" against the Supreme Court's integration decrees. South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi are giving it considerable support, although incoming Governor Coleman of the last-named state terms it "legal poppycock."

The idea is that the states shall severally ask Congress to submit a constitutional amendment legalizing racial integration. Until the amendment is adopted (thirteen states could block it) the "interposing" states are to be governed by a declaration of their legislatures that "the decisions and orders of the Supreme Court relating to separation of the races in its public institutions are, as a matter of right, null, void and of no effect; and the General Assembly declares to all men that as a matter of right, this state is not bound to abide thereby."

This scheme, thought up by the Richmond News-Leader, is presented with a great allegation of support from Madison and Jefferson. Supposedly paraphrasing Madison's Virginia Resolutions of 1798, it is in fact a garbled hodgepodge; its actual counterpart, in the great "nullification" battle of the 1830's, was denounced by Madison and unanimously condemned by the Virginia General Assembly of 1833-34. The crucial words "null, void and of no effect" were added to Madison's 1798 draft by W. C. Nicholas at Jefferson's suggestion, and were unanimously stricken out by the House of Delegates, as Madison explained later, because they might give "pretext for some disorganizing misconstruction." That is, they might be thought to convert the resolutions from a call for united constitutional action into an act of resistance to law.

Concerning Jefferson, who died in 1826, Madison wrote five years afterwards: "It is remarkable how closely the nullifiers who make the name of Mr. Jefferson the pedestal for their colossal heresy, shut their eyes and lips, whenever his authority is ever so clearly and emphatically against them." Pointing out that "nullification" (like the "interposition" now proposed in Virginia) put it in the power of a small minority of states to give the law to the great majority, Madison wrote in December, 1831: "For this preposterous and anarchial pretension there is not a shadow of countenance in the Constitution, and well that there is not; for it is certain that with such a deadly poison in it, no Constitution could be sure of lasting a year."

In the same letter, to President Jackson's private secretary and his own close friend Nicholas Trist, Madison said of the fundamental issue—the denial of national supremacy:

"A supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the Union, without a supremacy in the exposition and execution of them, would be as much a mockery as a scabbard put into the hands of a soldier without a sword in it."

The man who wrote those words is being cited in Richmond today as the legal and historical authority for the asserted right of Virginia to nullify the Constitution.

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modern anywhere, but these are under the threat today of being sold by municipalities and the state to private corporations for use as private institutions. Thus tax funds spent in the past, as well as the future, would accrue to the benefit of private groups.

WHILE supporters of the Gray plan tagged all opponents as integrationists, they are not so easily classified. Clergymen and educators alike were split, but for the most part the churches oppose, while the top echelon of educators, including Dr. Colgate Darden, former governor and now president of the state university, support the plan. The dean of the university law school, however, looks upon the proposal as unconstitutional.

Most of the opposition was centered in northern Virginia. Armistead Boothe, state senator-elect from Alexandria, one of the six cities and towns which defeated the proposal, organized the State Society for Preservation of the Public Schools, which in the last days of the campaign distributed half-a-million leaflets outlining the case against the tuition plan.

Demogoguery, albeit on a more urbane level than that which usually characterizes the segregation debate

Yardley in Baltimore Sun

"Ah sho' hopes he approves my dress"

in Southern states, was common to both sides. But the sophistication of the arguments pro and con does not lessen the danger, many Virginians feel, now facing the public-school system in the state. "Interposition" is the sophisticated name of the next weapon to be used by opponents of integration. This device has been tried before, as far back as Jefferson's time, in the battle of States' Rights versus Federal Rights [see Irving Brant's comment on p. 46]. While the idea has not taken hold through all of Virginia, and is even less likely to succeed than it did in earlier years of the Republic, its proponents are waiting impatiently for favorable action on the Gray report in the hope their resolution will be next on the legislative agenda.

Virginia's action may set off a struggle in Congress that could have a crippling effect on public schools throughout the nation. In this campaign year, there will be a vigorous congressional drive to push through large appropriations for federal aid to education. A clause to prohibit the use of such funds for segregated schools would be a signal for rebellion on the part of many Southern congressmen—a rebellion powerful enough, perhaps, to destroy any strong federal-aid program.

There was a stillness in Virginia last week. The victors are silent as they prepare their strategy to jam all provisions of the Gray report through the Legislature. The defeated third of the voters are quietly regrouping their forces for the impending convention battle. But this stillness did not mean that proponents of a free public-school system in Virginia have been defeated—or that they believe they have permanently lost the Civil War of 1956.

THE LIPSTICK WAR

All's Fair—Even Wiretaps . . *by Walter Goodman*

SOME of the paint that lies so thick over America's cosmetics industry was scraped off at a meeting last November of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee to Study Illegal Interception of Communications. The most efficient scrapers were a pair of cosmetics-industry executives: Raymond Spector, chairman of the board of Hazel Bishop, the biggest lipstick seller in the country, and William D. Heller, secretary-treasurer of Revlon, the biggest cosmetics seller (excluding a house-to-house outfit named Avon Products, Inc.).

It may be that each of the four dozen brands of lipstick now obtainable on the American market has something distinctive about it. If so, the distinguishing characteristics are not exactly striking and lipstick manufacturers, sensitive to the devilish similarity of all little greasy red sticks, are constantly seeking out means of impressing the uniqueness of their particular brand on the female mind. Some adopt Gallic trade names for their products, raise their prices by twenty-five cents and associate themselves with the soignee ladies who populate the high-tone women's magazines. Or, on the other hand, they may drop their prices, advertise in the movie mags and woo the Woolworth crowd.

They can do things with their products, too. They can make their cases sparkle, or plate them with 24-carat gold, or give them novel shape. (In 1954 Hazel Bishop charged the Toni people with copying Bishop's original dome-shaped golden metal lipstick case, among other priceless trade secrets.) They can devise shades of lipstick that perform extraordinary feats. ("Now

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TABU introduces a startling *new* lipstick shade that captures the romance and adventure of the desert!") Furthermore, they can explain why today's shade should not be confused with yesterday's. ("Redheads *revel* in it! Blondes *bloom* in it! Brunettes were *born* for it! *This* is the pink that proves forever . . . *pink is for girls!* LOVE THAT PINK! Revlon's new *pulsating pink*. . . . Not a shy pink . . . a *showoff pink!* Not a whisper pink . . . a *whistle* pink! It's light, yet it's bright. What a beautiful paradox!") Revlon, by the way, also puts out a line of non-pulsating pinks, such as Snow Pink, Paint the Town Pink, Powder Pink and Kissing Pink.

A specially valued gambit in the quest for individualization is the recurring discovery—at decent intervals—of a formula that positively revolutionizes the lipstick age. Revlon did it last March when it announced its new "Lanolite" lipstick, the "only non-smear type lipstick" which would last overnight and permit the user to "wake up beautiful." A few weeks later, Coty Inc. filed charges in New York Federal District Court, alleging that the only thing new about Lanolite was the advertising copy. The truly new formula, said Coty, was to be found in Coty's own "24" which had inspired the Revlon people's far-fetched claims. (Hazel Bishop boosters privately describe the Coty formula as an old French concoction which Bishop discarded four years ago.)

What really troubled the plaintiff in the above case, it should be noted, was not that his formula had been purloined but that Revlon had "appropriated and used for its own purposes much of the advertising material used by Coty." In an industry where differences of product are somewhat obscure, the public claims made for the products are of momentous importance. As Raymond Spector himself has put it, in a burst of imagery: "I might say that advertising is the very life blood of our business." (He did not specify the shade.)

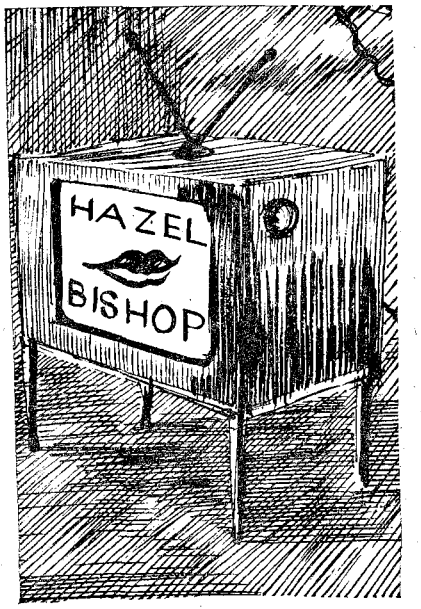
How many millions the advertising gimmick can mean has been forcibly demonstrated by the rise of Hazel Bishop lipstick, "the new amazing lipstick that stays on—and on—and on!" This amazing product was first put together after the war by a forty-year-old lady chemist from Hoboken named, appropriately, Hazel Bishop. Hazel concocted a product that wouldn't smear off, eat off or kiss off. And not only that: by using a lanolin base instead of the malodorous oil and grease bases common to most other lipsticks, she eliminated the need for perfuming. After perfecting her formula, Hazel turned to a lawyer-friend who raised the necessary cash, spent two years packaging the product and finally placed it in several department stores. Three months later Hazel Bishop Inc. declared bankruptcy.

AMAZING as Miss Bishop's discovery was, it remained for advertising man Spector, who had already established himself as a leader in his profession by popularizing the Lone Ranger and Serutan ("Nature's spelled backwards"), to rescue it from the abyss of amazing discoveries that don't amaze anybody. Spector improved the formula, did some repackaging and started the biggest national campaign ever lavished on a lipstick—$1,500,000 worth. He stressed a single quality—long-lastingness. The concentration worked; the year 1951 found Hazel Bishop doing a $4,000,000 gross and moving steadily up on Revlon. When Spector came on the scene, Hazel Bishop Inc. had a net worth of about $34,000; by 1954 its securities were valued at more than $12,000,000, and it was supplying one-third of the lipstick-wearing segment of our population. Each year since 1950 the Spector organization has devoted more and more of its energies, and its cash, to advertising. In 1954 Hazel Bishop spent $4,500,000 on promoting its products, $4,000,000 on TV alone—notably "This Is Your Life."

If Spector did well by the lipstick, the lipstick reciprocated magnificently. Early in 1954 Hazel Bishop—the lady, not the company—sued him for mismanagement and fraud. The dispute was settled out of court; Hazel, who had provided little more than her name to the firm anyway since the time of Spector's arrival, sold her shares. Spector could now add 55 per cent of the company's stock to the neat $10,000,000 he had cleared in five years to become "the richest man in the advertising business."

But such lavish success has a way of nourishing envy in competitors' souls, and so it was with certain unnamed lipstick manufacturers. In November, 1954, Spector's agency—now given over wholly to the welfare of Hazel Bishop, Inc.—ran into "a series of very strange coincidences" relative to matters that had been discussed by the firm only over the telephone. These increased as the months passed; proposed gambits for selling Hazel Bishop lipstick were being discovered and put to use selling somebody else's lipstick. Queer things kept happening right into February when a newsletter printed details of an intimate loan project, word of which had presumably never left the Spector office.

On April 19, Spector, on the advice of firm counsel Emil K. Ellis, called in a prominent private detective and wiretap expert, Charles B. Gris. Gris appeared, to quote Spector, "with another gentleman, and I started to put my hand out to say, 'How are you? I am Mr. Spector.' He didn't answer. He put his hand over his mouth as if to say 'Take me to your private office.'" Once in the office, however, Gris seems to have become positively garrulous: "This is Carl Ruh," he burst forth. "This is the fellow you've been reading about in the papers, that is mixed up in this Broady stuff and is working for me now. He owes his life to me. This is a terrific guy. He is the greatest electronics expert." What Gris apparently meant was that Ruh had made the newspapers two months earlier by being indicted in New York for illegal wiretapping after a spectacular but unproductive police raid on



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a tapping establishment at 360 East 55th Street.

Spector revealed the intricacies of his office switchboard to the great expert; Gris said, "Carl, go to work"; and Ruh took his tools and wandered over the premises for the next hour. He returned to say that the phones of Hazel Bishop's executives were indeed being tapped and there was even a hidden microphone in Spector's office. "I began perspiring," Spector told the New York State legislators seven months later. "I was livid with rage that anything like this could happen."

In an effort to soothe him, Gris, who had received $300 for his and Ruh's brief services, suggested that he was available for any small jobs that Spector himself might have in mind: "Wiretapping is a big thing these days, and the biggest companies are doing it." Gris even offered as a reference Hazel Bishop's chief competitor, Revlon, whose phones he had been tapping at the request of the company itself. "While we are here," Gris is quoted by Spector as having suggested while they were searching the basement of his Lexington Avenue office building, "we might as well look and see if we could put a recording device in your stockroom, just as with Revlon we have a recording device at 745 Fifth Avenue, because, after all, if you are going to have a recording device, you don't want it where your employees can see it." But the man who had promoted Serutan was not to be won over by this cynical kind of inducement; he spurned it, he recalls, with these severe words: "I said I wouldn't do a thing like that. I said it may be legal, but it is a dirty business and I wouldn't get down into the gutter."

The wiretapping on the Spector agency went on, however. And finally Spector decided to go with his story to District Attorney Frank S. Hogan.

The name of the important competitor who had been listening in on Spector and his associates for a year and a half was not spelled out at the committee's hearing in November. But Mr. Heller, of Revlon, was on hand to inform the legislators that the telephone company is now monitoring Revlon's phones. Bell has been obliging the cosmetics firm in this manner for six years, he explained: ". . . This procedure has proven to be extremely beneficial in every respect. . . . It has tremendously improved the performance of employees," making for greater "efficiency, service and courtesy." In addition, the popular Gris and Ruh were once hired to tap and record the conversation of a certain employee "for security purposes." Having one's phone tapped, Mr. Heller assured the committee, definitely results in "higher morale." Nevertheless, Revlon fervently joined Hazel Bishop in condemning "commercial" wiretapping as "an outrageous and unlawful thing."

ONE Bernard Spindel, a man whose trade is the making of equipment for "the specific field of eavesdropping," and who collects odds and ends of information relevant to his profession from surprisingly well-informed secret sources, took the stand immediately after the Messrs. Heller and Spector and was responsible for the following provocative exchange:

> Q. To clarify the record, Mr. Spindel, do you know of any other instance of tapping insofar as Revlon is concerned, other than the tapping by themselves within their own company?
>
> A. Are you referring to. . . .?
>
> Q. In other words, a yes or no answer. Can you answer it yes or no?
>
> A. I can't answer that yes or no for this reason. If you are referring to what might be termed as hearsay evidence, or competent legal evidence—whichever you want, I will be glad to answer that question.
>
> Q. Let's not go into speculation. Let's have it at competent evidence as you call it.
>
> A. Unfortunately, I am at a point right now that so far as legal competent evidence is concerned, I will say I have no further information.

Who is the nameless competitor who has been tapping Hazel Bishop's phones? Why was Revlon eavesdropping on its own employees? These are the multi-million-dollar questions of the cosmetics industry, where lots of people claim to know the answers. The district attorney's office is now looking into the possibilities of prosecuting somebody or other.

But no matter what the precise answers are, it has been clear from the beginning that the spur has been the Almighty Advertisement. Spector, asked at the hearing whether he felt that "keeping secret your advertising ideas is very important," replied: "I would say it is not merely

important. I would say it is absolutely essential because whoever gets the jump on a unique promotional or advertising idea has a tremendous advantage, just as in warfare an army that gets a jump has a tremendous military advantage."

MEANWHILE, the war for the lipstick market goes on. Revlon spent what the *Wall Street Journal* called a "whopping $6.1 million" on advertising and promotion in 1954. The 1955 expenditure by the sponsor of "The $64,000 Question" reached $7,000,000, and its earnings likewise rose to an all-time high. But the percentage earned by its lipsticks dropped. So Heller is likely to keep an even more diligent eye—and ear—on the doings of his morale-filled employees, and Spector will certainly articulate his inspirations more guardedly hereafter. But in an industry where the gimmick is king, attempts at abduction are likely to continue.

What is the moral to this small story of how a luxury industry operates? David M. Potter, chairman of American Studies at Yale University, may have indicated it in a talk he gave in November before the American Association of Advertising Agencies. "As we shift from a society in which production is the focus of economic attention to one which is oriented to consumption," he said, "as we see a new pattern of personality emerging in American life, it seems to me that advertising as an institution moves into a position of influence comparable at least in degree to such other major institutions for the formation of values as the school and the church."

And what value will you try today, girls—Cherries in the Snow?

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BRASS-AND-GOLD ERA

Part II. of the Big Guns . . *by Matthew Josephson*

[*This is the second of three articles on the significance of our new huge military establishment; the concluding article will appear next week. Mr. Josephson is the author of* The Robber Barons *and other books*].

BY 1948, two years before the Korean War broke out, plans for an increase in our armed forces, especially atomic-air, were already under way. Our "police action" in Korea was expected to cost the government only about $5 billion in addition to what was being spent, for we had masses of war material left over in mothballs. But as Thomas K. Finletter has written in his book, *Power and Policy* (1954), the event was deliberately seized upon as a pretext for "a very large build-up of defense appropriations that *went far beyond the war*. They were intended only in small part for Korea and the East and mainly to counter and nullify the rising Russian threat" (italics added). Even without Korea, Finletter relates, some such increase in arms was in the cards.

Prior to June, 1950, our deliveries of military hardware had been proceeding at the rate of $500,000,000 a month. By mid-1951 we were delivering military goods at the rate of $1.5 billion a month and moving toward an annual rate of $48 billion a year, though the warfare in Korea had bogged down. Federal spending for global cold war had risen almost to World War II proportions.

The Korean War, unlike World War II, arrived at a time of prosperity, when employment was relatively full. Its tremendous economic impact is recorded in the Federal Reserve System's annual report for 1951: "Value of total output continued to rise under the stimulus of increasing defense expenditures." By the fourth quarter of 1951, gross national product is shown to have reached an annual rate of $337 billion against a rate of $280 billion at the beginning of 1950, a spectacular jump of 20 per cent in a little more than a year. A part of this increase was due to the rise in prices, for a buyers' panic and inventory hoarding accompanied the war boom.

Fortune magazine commented editorially in September, 1952, that the federal government had become the employer and purchaser of "nearly one-quarter of the goods and services produced by the U. S. economy," and old style depressions now seemed politically "impossible." What was more, the government, seeking to encourage a rise in existing productive facilities, again granted accelerated tax write-offs to companies that expanded their plants for defense purposes. In the five years since the Korean War such privileges were granted to 19,961 firms in the amount of approximately $30.5 billion, according to *Business Week* (July 16, 1955). On the average these firms were allowed to write off 60 per cent of their investment in five years.

THE government, in short, was both buying us "standby protection" and spreading a vast amount of business "over the whole range of industrial production," wrote Eliot Janeway, economic consultant to *Newsweek*. Mr. Janeway, who styles himself an "expert on defense mobilization," has defined the current armament program as a "permanent defense cycle" which provides a sort of "built-in stabilizer" for our economy by its high rate of expenditure and new capital formation. We pile up mountainous stockpiles of arms, supersonic planes, scarce materials, automatic missiles and nuclear fission bombs. Thus, as Janeway and other enthusiasts for bigger planes and stronger missiles contend, "we have bought ourselves a boom at a bargain." "Defense now looms up as a major and permanent new business for American industry."

World War II had witnessed a resumption of the trend toward industrial monopoly in this country. Procurement officers at the Pentagon, it was reported, used to admit frankly that they preferred to do business with the "big fellows" of industry "because they get things done faster." Whether this is true or not, the corporate giants flourished wonderfully and have continued to do so. A report of the Defense Department for January, 1954, on the distribution of contracts from June 30, 1950, to June 30, 1954, shows that the 100 corporations that were largest in point of assets were awarded nearly two-thirds of all military business. General Motors received 7.2 per cent of the contracts; Boeing Airplane, 4.4 per cent; General Electric, 3.6 per cent. A more recent report revealed that during the four years up to 1955 General Motors alone was awarded about $6.6 billion in defense business. What is more, some of our "oligopolist" corporations, such as U. S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel, have been endowed with a large part of their new and more efficient plant facilities at low cost to themselves through the privilege of five-year depreciation charges offsetting taxes. It has been estimated that about 60 per cent of the U. S. Steel's recently built Fairless Works, valued at $460 million, was provided by this kind of indirect government subsidy. The New York *Times* commented (January 22, 1954) that the Defense Department report on its procurement operations showed "a clear trend toward concentration of war contracts . . . in the hands of big business, and a diminishing share for small business."

The department's budget for technical research alone calls for an annual expenditure of $2 billion through the channels of government bureaus, universities and private corporations. But according to a recent statement by Chairman Wright Patman of the House Committee on Small Business, about half of this vast sum is being allocated "to a few big firms." Such "outright gifts," Patman has declared, amount to sub-

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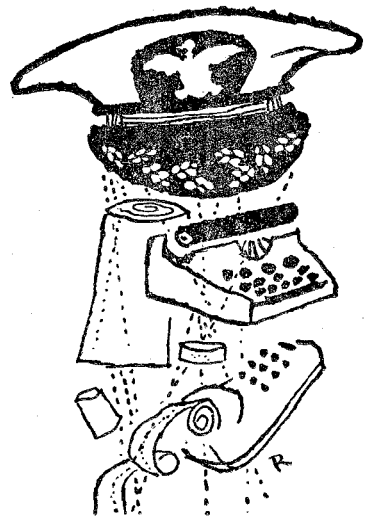
sidization of industry and could lead to "a collectivization of the country's economic life."

The procurement of military weapons has always been largely a hush-hush affair, especially in war. But even in the peacetime period from January, 1953, to July, 1955, according to Chairman Vinson of the House Armed Services Committee, 94 per cent of the $36.4 billion expended upon defense orders to industry was awarded not by open, competitive bid but by *secret, negotiated* bid. This practice has been continuing for nearly six years solely under the authority of Truman's (Korean) emergency proclamation of 1950. Here, then, is a measure of the gigantic economic power of the "world's biggest business," the Pentagon, functioning almost entirely in secret. To paraphrase Lord Acton, secret power (like absolute power) corrupts—secretly.

The Pentagon, then, is industry's One Big Customer. In the fiscal year 1953 its major procurements of material and stockpiles (aside from personnel and maintenance costs) amounted to over 20 per cent of the output of all our manufacturing, mining, transport and communications industries combined. Hence the proponents of the permanent defense cycle are filled with fear bordering on panic at the thought of any diminution in that immense volume of military spending. The dread of economic collapse in important sections of American industry is always in back of their minds. For example our aircraft business, now among the country's ten largest in value of output and employment, does 90 per cent of its work for the Defense Department, and is hardly a "private enterprise." Indeed, all industry watches the level of military spending. Will it rise? Will it come down? Will it stay put on a "plateau"?

EVER SINCE 1917 the representatives of business, in time of war, have come flocking to the national capital to volunteer their services for the supervision of the country's war-industries programs. In World War II we had Charles Edmund Wilson, president of General Electric, directing much of our war production. Now we have Charles Erwin Wilson, former president of General Motors, heading the Defense Department. As the French say, "the more things



change, the more they remain the same." There are still some 2,000 dollar-a-year men at work in Washington today as administrators and consultants for the many government planning, administrative, purchasing and semi-military agencies. In the first year of the Korean War the Defense Department appointed fifty of them to key mobilization posts, including those of the all-important Munitions Board and National Resources Board.

The business-statesmen in Washington found that the military caste had taken on a great deal of beef in recent years. In the long period between the wars the generals and admirals had functioned as petty bureaucrats spending their lives mostly in dreary barracks or distant naval stations, earning at most $10,000 a year and keep. Now they were men of consequence who had directed armed forces of 12,000,000 men during the world war and disposed of billions of dollars for military hardware. Men like General Clay or Admiral S. A. Robinson did business every morning with the country's giant industrialists in World War II.

At war's end many of the professional military men had got themselves well-heeled in various ways. The first of Truman's peacetime budgets called for a reduction of commissioned army officers to 115,000, and of enlisted men to about 800,000. The ratio of officers to enlisted men had formerly been about 1 to 10; now the Pentagon insisted on a roster of 147,000 commissioned and warrant officers, a ratio of nearly 1 to 6, on the ground that modern war conditions needed far more commissioned personnel and specialists than before. Most of these demands were granted in the end, leading Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas to remark that the postwar army seemed to consist of "all chiefs and no Indians."

The promotion of numerous regular army officers to higher rank was rushed through by the Pentagon just before many of them were to retire on pensions—which were thus fixed at higher rates. So many seemingly healthy officers were granted disability pensions—which are exempt from income tax—that in November, 1947, President Truman and a year later some members of Congress threatened to make public the list, which included officers who seemed to be healthy enough to earn up to $100,000 a year in business or as lobbyists for arms manufacturers.

A novel development since World War II has been the great trek of high military brass, even four- and five-star generals, into the ranks of private industry, where executive posts at high salaries have been provided for them. As Representative Robert Mollohan of West Virginia stated recently before Congress, it might be inferred in many cases that the companies engaging the services of retired generals and admirals who had directed so much of the nation's military spending did so with some thought of "hiring" their influence in military circles. These officers headed companies best known for manufacturing tin cans or typewriters, but which also sell large quantities of military hardware to the Defense Department.

According to Mollohan a large percentage of the retired officers, enjoying pensions from $6,000 to $19,531 a year (the latter is the figure for five-star generals), found employment with the 100 companies that contracted for most of the Defense Department's supplies of weapons. As one military commentator, Col. W. H. Neblett (retired), has explained *(Pentagon Politics,* 1954), a company producing munitions "may send its president, General A., to the Pentagon to see General B., who succeeded him, and talk General B. into continuing the manufacturers' contract. . . ." A great number of the retired generals and admirals, Neblett believes, "exercise overpowering influence over the high-rankers left behind" who could

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not have reached their present grades but for the resignation of their predecessors.

The sensational trial of Major General Bennett Meyers, former deputy-chief of materiel for the air force, in 1947, revealed more than the sorry record of his fraudulent deals with aircraft contractors; it showed that war contractors make approaches to military procurement officers over long months and years, holding out to them the bait of future lucrative employment. General Meyers was sentenced to the penitentiary for his small plunderings. But some of his superior officers in the air force—whose conduct was legally correct—also maintained long and friendly relations with big war contractors with whom they found employment, at high salaries, after the war. Thus you may have the case of an air-force General Staff officer strongly recommending the purchase of the product of a certain airframe manufacturer—though the quality of the airplane may have aroused much controversy among experts. Then a year or so later you find the same four-star general, having retired, becoming the high-salaried president of the corporation which manufactured the planes. Often a high procurement officer must pass judgment upon the purchase of materiel from the very concern which he knows will be his future employer.

AN instance was reported in October, 1955, of a navy air-corps contract with the McDonnell Aircraft and Westinghouse companies for F3H jet fighter planes. Though eleven of the planes crashed, causing the death of several test pilots, the contract was continued for some time at an eventual loss to the government of most of the $302 million expended. Official investigation showed that the former deputy chief of the navy Bureau of Aeronautics, Rear-Admiral Lloyd Harrison (retired), opposed termination of the contracts, despite the plane crashes, because the record of these contractors had formerly been good. But one day after he resigned from the navy in September, 1955, he took the job of vice-president of the McDonnell Aircraft Company. To a congressional committee he admitted that the job had been offered to him as long ago as March, 1955, some five months before his retirement. There is no proof of misconduct or of anything beyond an "honest mistake," as was claimed; but as in the case of former Secretary for Air Talbott, there is the clear inference of conflict of interests, or in fact of conflict of loyalties—a new and immense field for America's ubiquitous investigators.

The generals and admirals have infiltrated mostly into the aircraft industry, but are also represented in steel, aluminum, shipbuilding, machinery and electronics manufacturing, petroleum and coal products, chemicals and communications—the industries which are the chief suppliers of the armed forces. [See listing below.]

Generals Don't Fade Away

A list of outstanding military officers who have retired since World War II—with full pensions—to high places in private industry was recently inserted in the *Congressional Record* by Representative Mollohan. Following is a partial list of these officers and the jobs which they now hold:

General Omar N. Bradley, chairman of Bulova Research and Development Corporation.

Lieutenant-General Levin H. Campbell (former Chief of Ordnance), executive vice-president of International Harvester Company and director of Curtiss Wright Company, American Steel Foundries, General Precision Equipment Company.

General Lucius D. Clay, chairman of Continental Can at a salary of "over $100,000 a year" and director of General Motors.

General Leslie Groves (former head of the atomic-bomb project), consultant on the executive staff of Remington-Rand (now Sperry-Rand).

General Douglas MacArthur, chairman of Sperry-Rand at $100,000 a year.

General George C. Marshall, consultant to Pan-American Airways.

Lieutenant-General Joseph T. McNarney, president of Consolidated Vultee (now a division of General Dynamics Corporation).

General Ira C. Eaker, vice-president of Hughes Aircraft.

General Jacob L. Devers, technical adviser to Fairchild Engine and Airplane.

Admiral Ben Moreell, president of Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation.

Lieutenant-General Elwood A. Quesada, vice-president and director of Lockheed Aircraft.

Major-General Edward M. Power, vice-president of Curtiss Wright.

General Walter Bedell Smith, vice-president of American Machine and Foundry Company and head of its atomics division.

General B. W. Chidlaw, consultant to Thompson Products, producers of aircraft and automotive engines.

General Matthew B. Ridgeway, Mellon Research Company.

Admiral Malcolm B. Schoeffel, director of General Precision Equipment Corporation weapons-planning division.

Admiral Lawrence B. Richardson, executive and director of General Dynamics Corporation, makers of atomic submarines.

Admiral Robert Carney (former Chief of Naval Operations), executive of Westinghouse Electric.

Admiral John H. Towers, Pan-American World Airways.

Admiral William F. Halsey, president of International Standard Electric Company and director of Federal Tele-communications Company and American Cable and Radio.

General Harry C. Ingles (chief signal officer of the army during World War II), director of Radio Corporation of America and president of an affiliate producing signal equipment.

General F. C. Hopkins, vice-president of Cleveland Pneumatic Tool Company, makers of aircraft landing gears.

Admiral Jonas Ingram, vice-president of Reynolds Sales Company (aluminum).

General A. C. Wedemeyer, vice-president of Rheem Manufacturing Company.

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Moral Insight into Power

THE PATTERN OF WORLD CONFLICT. By G. L. Arnold. Dial Press. $4.

By Frederick L. Schuman

PLATO long ago persuaded himself (and many others since) that man's hope of order and justice depended upon philosophers becoming kings or kings becoming philosophers. The question has ever since been clamant as to how "egg-heads" can best discharge their civic responsibilities—if not by control, which evokes anti-intellectual resistance, then at least by diagnosis, prediction and guidance to power-holders and policy-makers. Plato never solved the problem, nor has today's generation done any better. Yet it remains forever contemporary and often crucial for human fortunes. If no salvation is to be had through moral insight into human needs and through logical dissection of the problems posed by human efforts to assure the greatest possible cooperation and the least possible conflict in the affairs of mankind, then what hope remains for any ultimate escape from an endless cycle of illusion and frustration, followed by breakdown and reversion to bestiality—and, in the atomic era, the possible co-annihilation of the human race?

This question is sharply put, although he does not so put it, by G. L. Arnold's perceptive and provocative essay on the dilemma of our time. This British writer is an editor of *The Twentieth Century,* successor to *The Nineteenth Century and After,* and a contributor to English and American journals. By profession or major interest, he is obviously an economist. He is humble in his contribution, which calls for widespread and thoughtful attention. He is concerned with the implications of "planning and state intervention" for the present meaning and future prospects of the now muted but still real "cold war." His standpoint, he tells us, is " 'Atlantic,' sans phrase."

In six stimulating chapters of reflection and advice, he considers contemporary problems of global politics and economics. He begins by noting regretfully that the decisions in 1945 of those who believed themselves, under the hypnosis of "total war," shapers of things to come, led to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the liquidation or deportation of millions of Germans (he grants that Germans began the process), and to Britain's decline to a second-rate power in view of Soviet aggrandizement, American determination to effect an *entente* between Washington and Moscow, and British acquiescence in the result in the interest of Anglo-American solidarity. But the past is irreversible and only the future matters. A decade later, Mr. Arnold is clear as to the imperatives of survival in our time:

> What is implied by the term coexistence is solely the desire to spare the world the catastrophe of all-out atomic war; more pointedly, the belief that in the last resort the world can and will stay divided for a very long time to come. To say that coexistence is possible and necessary is to say that the Communist powers will fail to conquer or overthrow the West, and that the West cannot hope to undo the Chinese Revolution or to overthrow the present regime in Russia. And the "cold war" for the allegiance of the intermediate areas is the corollary of this state of affairs, for while both sides will naturally try to win over as many doubtful elements as possible, neither is compelled to use military means to this end. It is sufficient that they should recognize the limits of their power.

In his later pages, all of which are factually accurate, intellectually exciting and enormously relevant to

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Fall in Corrales

Winter will be feasts and fires in the shut houses,
Lovers with hot mouths in their blanched bed,
Prayers and poems made, and all recourses
Against the world huge and dead:

Charms, all charms, as in stillness of plumb summer
The shut head lies down in bottomless grasses,
Willing that its thought be all heat and hum,
That it not dream the time passes.

Now as these light buildings of summer begin
To crumble, the air husky with blown tile,
It was ourselves who melted in the mountains,
Unhoused the spirit for a while:

Then there was no need by tales or drowsing
To make the thing that we were mothered by.
It was ourselves who melted in the mountains,
And the sun dove into every eye.

Our desires dwelt in the weather as fine as bomb-dust;
It was our sex that made the fountains yield;
Our flesh fought in the roots, and at last rested
Whole among cows in the risen field.

Now in its empty bed the truant river
Leaves but the perfect rumples of its flow;
The cottonwoods are spending gold like water;
Weeds in their light detachments go;

In a dry world more huge than rhyme or dreaming
We hear the sentences of straws and stones,
Stand in the wind and, bowing to this time,
Practise the honor of our bones.

RICHARD WILBUR

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current issues, Mr. Arnold disposes of the dangerous delusion, unfortunately shared by East and West alike, that Germany can again play a Great Power role. He argues persuasively for Atlantic Union, with impressive statistics on the "dollar gap" and the chronic dependence of Western Europe on American subsidies. But his major concern, again buttressed with economic data and lucid insights, is with the inescapable fact that in the West, as in the East, the production and distribution of national income is now determined less by the competition of private entrepreneurs in the market than it is by public control and planning.

His argument, embellished with shrewd asides on the problems of economic development of backward areas and on the dynamics of Soviet society, is the most convincing case to date of the factual reality of "One World," despite semantic obsessions to the contrary amid a continuing furor of controversy between "conservatives" and "liberals" and between "Communists" and "capitalists."

Arnold does not press his logic to its logical conclusion—and indeed concludes his essay inconclusively. But I have long suspected that the end result of Soviet communism would be an approximation to the ideal social order as defined by the spokesmen of American capitalism, and that the America of days to come would somewhat resemble, to the objective observer, the Marxist-Leninist vision of the "classless society" and the "cooperative commonwealth." This paradoxical anticipation, to be sure, may prove fatuous. Yet Arnold's suggestive book lends powerful support to such a prognosis. Should the forecast prove correct, the ideological frenzies of our time may seem absurdly irrelevant to our successors, who will be primarily concerned with exchanging data on how the Good Society can best be planned and administered, rather than with rivalry for global hegemony or with quarrels over obsolete presuppositions.

Again the Albatross

THE ALCHEMIST'S VOYAGE. An Adventure. By Calvin Kentfield. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.95.

By William Goyen

CALVIN Kentfield's first novel, *The Alchemist's Voyage,* which has been long in the making, chooses as its tradition that of Melville and Conrad. But the voyage and the shaping of it are Kentfield's own. His wisdom in choosing this tradition—though he will no doubt write many different kinds of books as he goes on—contributes to the success of his book. For he has begun with a tradition which he can enter and touch with his own voice and experience, and so make it real for himself, rather than imitate another's reality.

Few current first novels indicate to us any wealth of inner material, of secret, potential power within the writer. Rather they seem to be hard little blinking *apercus* which blur and water toward the end of the vision, well-fashioned and competent but short-sighted, of limited eye. *The Alchemist's Voyage* is, I believe, a large perception, capable of distances and depths.

"Why are we here?" ask Ira Garrett and Bobby Blacky, two friends who are at once disparate personalities and aspects of each other. They are seamen aboard the Alchemist, a freighter going south. "What is there beyond the touch, the sight, the sound?" they ask each other. There is the quest for the saving magic, the redeeming revelation, they tell themselves, which drives them in search, binds them in trance and dream, though the quest materializes as the body of woman in Ira and as a treasure of diamonds in Blacky. The vessel carries them toward sensual adventure, bound together by a spiritual quest for recognitions and identities. It moves as if under a spell, with its purser paralyzed under the sadistic mesmerism of its captain, its bosun tattooed with a snake coiled round his arm and biting an apple in the palm of his hand. It voyages over surreal seas and up bewitched rivers under the narcotic of weather and sky, of drunken dreams and southern fevers. Shadow and image revolve and change places within the minds of the two bound friends. Their identities, which they are exchanging and confusing, are imprinted upon each other by the daemonic error of a tattoo woman who, like a figure of destiny, stamps the initials of Ira upon the chest of Blacky and the stigmata of Blacky, son of a prostitute, upon the body of Ira in the shape of a woman clinging round his neck. Within the ship and upon the shores it touches, these two young men pursue their images. The pursuit is an adventure, a tracking down of shadow, a search for otherself, a denial of self and a betrayal of friendship.

WHEN Blacky, imprisoned unjustly in the ship, escapes ashore Ira follows him, not only out of spiritual responsibility for him but because the captain has ordered him to bring Blacky back. The Alchemist sails on, leaving the shadows in search of each other. Blacky is destroyed by the hands of depravity into which he has fallen in pursuit of his own redemption; while Ira, with the image of Blacky's curse tattooed upon him and hanging round his neck "like an albatross," searches for him through a nightmare of brothels and dangerous alleys. In the end Ira is the one who survives and returns to the boat.

The Alchemist's Voyage is a vivid tone poem whose imagery is that of the burnt and tattooed marks of identity and obsession and destiny, and the images of sewing and stenciling and burning and adumbrating carry this symbolism of the hidden aspects and quests of self to an hallucinatory climax and a matter-of-fact ending. Kentfield's descriptions of sea and coast and sky are magical; and his feeling for weather and his perceptions into the mysteries and enigmas that surround men afloat and lost to earthbound realities are impassioned and strange. He has touched it all with his own alchemy, and he has made an impressive and haunting statement about the various dooms of lust and the sensual hunt for spiritual grace. It is the mysterious overtone of this novel, melancholy and of a sinister enchantment, that marks its authenticity—and Kentfield's as a writer of gifts and promise.

WILLIAM GOYEN is the author of In a Farther Country, Ghost and Flesh *and* The House of Breath.

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Pilgrim and the Money-God

KEEP THE ASPIDISTRA FLYING. By George Orwell. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.75.

By William Meredith

KEEP the Aspidistra Flying was written about and during the depression by a man for whom poverty seems to have been as real and imminent as death was for John Donne. It is an excessive novel, like Remarque's *Spark of Life* and perhaps with the same excuse: great catastrophes are, for good human reasons, hard to remember. Most people can pass near and even through them with a minimum of imaginative participation. But an artist for whom they are once imaginatively real is bound to feel that they must be remembered. If he overstates, as Remarque does about the concentration camp and Orwell does about the depression, it is purely a literary overstatement, for there seems to be no danger of factual excess in any account of these events.

Although it is not one of Orwell's best books, this twenty-year-old novel, now first published in this country, is still well worth reading. It provides an insight into the author's individualism, that warm and particular philosophy which gives his work a dimension that most political novels lack. The hero, a minor poet with the doctrinaire liberal attitudes of the thirties, has declared a private war on money. He gives up a well-paid advertising job and for two years lives a marginal existence as a clerk in a bookshop. As time goes by, his concern with money becomes obsessive; he scarcely writes poetry, the ostensible object of his renunciation; his personal relations deteriorate through his touchiness at his poverty; and the woman he loves is almost lost to him. "It is not easy to make love in a cold climate when you have no money. The 'never the time and place' motif is not made enough of in novels."

The physical details of Comstock's poverty are surely over-insisted upon from an artistic point of view, and yet they embody some of Orwell's clearest insights to character. The very heaviness of the satire is often its strength. This is the landlady of a shabby rooming-house:

> It was always some minutes before Mrs. Wisbeach brought the letters upstairs. She liked to paw them about, feel them to see how thick they were, read their postmarks, hold them up to the light and speculate on their contents, before yielding them to their rightful owners. She exercised a sort of droit du seigneur over letters. Coming to her house, they were, she felt, at least partially hers. If you had gone to the front door and collected your own she would have resented it bitterly. On the other hand, she also resented the labour of carrying them upstairs. You could hear her footsteps very slowly ascending, and then, if there was a letter for you, there would be loud aggrieved breathing on the landing—this to let you know you had put Mrs. Wisbeach out of breath by dragging her up all those stairs. Finally, with a little impatient grunt, the letters would be shoved under your door.

George Orwell

In the end, the aspidistra, symbol of the money-god, is victorious. Comstock's young woman, who has consented, almost out of pity, to sleep with him once, becomes pregnant. Moved by this manifestation of vitality the hero returns to the world of aspidistras and money. "It is when [the Money-god] gets at you through your sense of decency that he finds you helpless," Comstock concludes. What he affirms is partial and qualified, and yet he affirms.

Orwell must be called a political novelist. In this country we still know him chiefly for *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-four,* which are unrepresentative only in being exclusively satirical. But even the gentler side of Orwell, which emerges in the conclusion of *Keep the Aspidistra Flying,* is political, a kind of propaganda. An individualist like Hemingway, Orwell lacked the egotism and the fatalism which enable Hemingway to seal off his best novels from a larger human context—that is, to make them non-political. In an essay called "Inside the Whale" Orwell once lamented Henry Miller's political irresponsibility. He quite specifically rejected the fatalism and the egotism which, apparently, are often the price of good art:

> As a rule, writers who do not wish to identify themselves with the historical process of the moment either ignore it or fight against it. If they can ignore it, they are probably fools. If they understand it well enough to want to fight against it, they probably have enough vision to realize that they cannot win. Look, for instance, at a poem like "The Scholar Gypsy," with its railing against the "strange disease of modern life" and its magnificent defeatist simile in the final stanza. It expresses one of the normal literary attitudes, perhaps actually the prevailing attitude during the last hundred years. And on the other hand there are the "progressives," the yea-sayers, the Shaw-Wells type, always leaping forward to embrace the ego-projections which they mistake for the future.

Lionel Trilling, in a fine introduction to Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia,* put his finger on the quality that allows us to accept politics in his art which we would reject in another man's: the politics are an expression of Orwell's real character, and "he was a virtuous man." Trilling reminds us how rarely we are moved to say that about a man today. The excellence of *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* seems to be largely the projection of Orwell's own excellence as a responsible twentieth-century man. On this basis it transcends the limitations of a political novel.

WILLIAM MEDERITH, lecturer in English at Connecticut College, is the author of a book of poems, Ships and Other Figures.

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New Books in Brief

Canterbury Fiction

MY LIFE FOR MY SHEEP. By Alfred Duggan. Coward-McCann. $5.

The five-year duel between Thomas a Becket and Henry the Second involved a titantic struggle between church and state, but it was primarily a conflict between the wills of two men who had many qualities in common and who had been intimate friends and mutual admirers. In this fictionalized biography of Becket the author gives full value to the human aspects of one of the great dramas of history. Mr. Duggan knows feudal society down to the smallest detail of its customs, dress and everyday living. But his people speak a present-day colloquial, occasionally slangy, English. This incongruity, together with the recreating of dialogue, gestures and thoughts, even at the moment of death, detracts from the verisimilitude of an otherwise factual biography.

The Teeming Desert

THE VOICE OF THE DESERT. By Joseph Wood Krutch. Sloane. $3.75.

To Mr. Krutch the proper study of mankind is man only as one manifestation of all natural life, neither superior nor more remarkable as a biological unit. "We must be part not only of the human community but of the whole community. . . . Unless we share this terrestrial globe with creatures other than ourselves we shall not be able to live on it for long."

His desert home has meant much more to Mr. Krutch than an observation post for examining some unique forms of natural life. It has been a retreat for contemplation with "mystical overtones," telling him more compellingly than any other place that life is not a dream while there are such realities as courage and the will for endurance, realities so vividly demonstrated in the plants and animals of the desert around Tucson where he has been living for more than five years.

The flora and fauna of the desert are unique because they have had to develop devices for survival in an environment usually thought of as completely unfavorable for maintaining life. Eleven forms of cactus, including the giant saguaro, are to be found nowhere else in the world but in southwestern Arizona or, sparsely, in immediately adjacent sections. Each has selected its own method of catching and storing the scanty rain that comes only twice a year. Some protect their storage places by doing away with leaves, which would allow water to evaporate, and coating their stems with a hard wax. A flowering plant called "queen of the night" has solved its water-supply problem by storing what little it can collect during the brief rains in a tuber underground weighing many times as much as the visible parts. An animal like the kangaroo rat operates its own chemical plant to manufacture water from its starchy foods. Descriptions of equally ingenious methods developed by other species as well as fascinating information about the mating and living habits of many of the desert's other creatures are packed into this book of little more than two hundred pages.

Active Elders

EARNING OPPORTUNITIES FOR OLDER WORKERS. Edited by Wilma Donahue. Michigan. $4.50.

There are two general attitudes toward the employment of older people today. One is that a person who has worked until he is sixty-five has earned a rest and should have the privilege of living his last ten or twenty years in comfortable leisure. The opposite attitude is that work becomes practically a necessity for the happiness of adults in our society, and they should be allowed and encouraged to work as long as they are able and willing.

This book is written by people who believe that older people should be permitted and encouraged to work, rather than encouraged to retire and live on a pension. It is a report of the fifth annual University of Michigan Conference on Aging. Director of the conference and editor of the book is Dr. Wilma Donahue, who points out that men and women as young as fifty or even forty are confronted with prejudice and reluctance on the part of employers when they seek to change jobs. Thus the book deals with the employment problems of workers in middle as well as old age.

The final chapter was written by Dr. Martin Gumpert, one of the last things he did before his death. He says, "The idea that old people want or deserve leisure is one of the most stupid stipulations of the human mind." Dr. Gumpert believed that the evolution of modern industry favors the use of the older worker, and that the foreseeable future will produce the rediscovery of work as a value in itself, disconnected from earning, and the rediscovery of "slowness," or skilful, creative performance. Both of these attitudes will work toward keeping employment open for older people.

Farm Crusade

POLITICAL PRAIRIE FIRE. The Nonpartisan League, 1915-1922. By Robert L. Morlan, Minnesota. $5.75.

A detailed history of the response of North Dakota farmers to the colorful leadership of Arthur Townley, by a professor of government at the University of Redlands in California. Economic conditions and exploitation by banks, railroads and grain elevators provided farmers with the incentive to organize, but it was Townley who enabled the league to capture political power and bring significant benefits to the farmers. The author is inclined to believe that this was the last of the great farmers' crusades, for any future political reform movement will have to combine a variety of interest groups. When some scholars seem to have accepted the criteria of public-relations practitioners to guide their re-writing of American history, it is refreshing to read a documented account of the tactics and standards of those who resisted reform.

Down from Siberia

CRADLE OF CONQUERORS: SIBERIA. By Erwin Lessner. Doubleday. $7.50.

It is a huge book, but then Mr. Lessner might retort that Siberia is a huge country. However, the geographical limits are stretched considerably by including Mongolia, Manchuria and even Sinkiang in the story, which begins at the dawn of history and ends shortly after the

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1917 Revolution. It is puzzling that the interesting and significant Soviet developments in Siberia are omitted. Much space is devoted to the Asiatic hordes, pushing out from Siberia or neighboring territory, under such celebrated warriors as Atilla, Djenghis Khan, Batu and Timur. In the course of several centuries they conquered most of the then-known world. The successful efforts of Russia to throw off these invaders, and in turn Russia's conquest and colonization of Siberia, are recalled in detail. Lessner includes an excessive number of historical events which might properly be considered peripheral to the story of Siberia and his emphasis on the more sensational aspects of conquests becomes tiresome. One takes from this account of world conquerors who have emerged from Siberia the implication that in this area history might well repeat itself.

News and Policy

FACTS TO A CANDID WORLD. America's Overseas Information Program. By Oren Stephens. Stanford. $3.50.

Oren Stephens, deputy policy chief of the United States Information Agency, has made an honest and thorough attempt to analyze the history and problems of American propaganda abroad. Tracing the program back to the Creel committee of World War I, he gives credit to the Truman Administration for recognizing that a propaganda-weary world cannot be convinced with empty phrases, vituperation or exhortation. Hence, the "Campaign of Truth," relying heavily on straight news reporting to achieve the limited objectives that can be expected from propaganda.

Mr. Stephens finds that one of the major weaknesses of the information program is the scarcity of adequate personnel. He further regrets that top U. S. officials and government departments are unwilling to ask the advice of, or to coordinate their plans with, the information agency. Consequently, the world often receives contradictory reports of American policy which the agency must then attempt to resolve.

The author, a government employee, cautiously skirts the question of the program's effectiveness. And he is equally cautious when he hints –and it is only a faint hint–at what is by now obvious: that America's propaganda effort cannot be better than America's foreign policy.

From Reform to Reaction

THE AGE OF REFORM. From Bryan to F. D. R. By Richard Hofstadter. Knopf. $4.50.

In this reconsideration of Populism and Progressivism Professor Hofstadter writes critically of their ambiguous character without denying the contributions they made. These essays demonstrate that the change from reform to contemporary reaction is "only a development of certain tendencies that had existed all along, particularly in the Middle West and the South." Hostility to Europe and to the Eastern seaboard, racial and religious bigotry, anti-intellectualism and nativist phobias were not unknown to the agrarian reformers. Hofstadter concludes that "it is not too much to say that the Greenback-Populist tradition activated most of what we have of modern popular anti-Semitism in the United States." He presents the Progressive movement as essentially a revolt against the organization which inevitably accompanied modern technology. The Progressives were not proposing a return to a simpler society. They sought instead to retain individualistic values which this organizational revolution was destroying. They developed governmental regulation as a counter-balance to business power, but did not solve the problem of preserving political democracy. We are left, therefore, with "a central problem of the modern democrat: whether it is possible in modern society to find satisfactory ways of realizing the ideal of popular government without becoming dependent to an unhealthy degree upon those who have the means to influence the popular mind."

English Letters

THE ENGLISH NOVEL. A Short Critical History. By Walter Allen. Dutton. $4.75.

THE MODERN WRITER AND HIS WORLD. By G. S. Fraser. Criterion Books. $3.95.

Placing these books side by side and beginning with Mr. Allen's history, an alien reader could easily pick up a good general introduction

GOOD READING

Here are some books recently reviewed in *The Nation,* or scheduled for review, which you might enjoy. You can order these, or any book of your choice, from our Reader's Service Department. (See below).

Henry Adams: A Biography
by Elizabeth Stevenson
The Macmillan Company, $6.00

The Whispering Gallery
by John Lehmann
Harcourt, Brace and Company, $5.00

Keep The Aspidistra Flying
by George Orwell
Harcourt, Brace and Company, $3.75.

The New Dimensions of Peace
by Chester Bowles
Harper & Brothers, $4.50

The Sane Society
by Erich Fromm
Rinehart & Company, $5.00

How Far The Promised Land
by Walter White
Viking Press, $3.50

The Stature of Theodore Dreiser
edited by Alfred Kazin & C. Shapiro
Indiana University Press, $5.00

The Exurbanites
by A. C. Spectorsky
J. B. Lippincott Co., $3.95

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to British fiction and, from Mr. Fraser, a series of fresh observations on modern deployments among British writers in the novel, the drama, poetry and criticism since the Edwardian age. Allen spreads out along the high road of the English novel from Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* to Joyce's *Vie de Dedalus*. Fraser concentrates on fifty years of busy cerebration in four separate literary genres.

Mr. Allen's is a useful handbook, sound, sane, sensible, and safe to recommend to tyros in the field. Fixed stars average six to twelve pages apiece; those of lesser magnitude are grouped in minor constellations. Always readable, the book is also continuously predictable except in those occasional instances where, for example, a Thackeray is accorded less and a Peacock more honor than is customary. In calling Joyce, Lawrence and Virginia Woolf "still the advance guard" of modern British fiction, Mr. Allen closes his eyes to the work of many people about whom Mr. Fraser is extremely interesting and informative.

If Allen, as historian, is necessarily somewhat behind the times, Fraser, as evaluator, is well up in the van. His book is a revision and expansion of lectures given at the University of Tokyo in 1950. Sprightlier, fuller and more discriminating than Allen's, Fraser's opinions are likewise more open to debate. Which is all to the good. Whether he is speaking of the gross sentimentality with which Noel Coward's characters tackle serious dilemmas, or of the blindness of Orwell's attack on *Four Quartets*, or of the probability that Yeats's greatness lay rather in his temperament than in his ideas, Mr. Fraser manages to be both solid and lively.

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

IN *The Great Sebastians* (ANTA Theatre) Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne play vaudevillians, and their show is like a vaudeville act. When it is over, one remembers almost nothing of it, except that one was rather amused. The Lunts are so expert that they make whatever they do seem like something to watch even when there is very little.

I used to scold the Lunts for having chosen such trivial plays during the last ten years. They had become brilliant comedy technicians, highly skilled performers instead of important actors. But apart from the fact that my criticism of them was frequently regarded in the nature of a subversive activity, I have come to think my carping was really beside the point. The Lunts want to be just what they are, either because they esteem their talent at exactly the level at which they employ it or because conditions peculiar to the American theatre make it more practical to conduct their career as they have.

What struck me with new force as I watched the Lunts was the fact that they are among the last of our remaining eminent elder actors. Almost all our stage stars today are young people—thirty being the average age. Of these very few are authentic stars—actors sufficiently fascinating to attract and hold an audience in a so-so play. What is truly alarming is that one is not sure that these gifted young people will be stars or even be in the theatre at all when they reach fifty. Our theatre is fast becoming a theatre of beginners.

WHAT happens is this: a bright young person makes a strong impression in his first or second leading role. He or she is thereupon hailed as a "killer" (or a "genius") of one kind or another—photographed, interviewed, profiled and publicized in every possible way. If the next stage appearance proves a disappointment—even if only because the play is weak—the actor, usually advised by his agent, is apt to drift off to Hollywood, or to devote considerable time to television. The young actor then finds that these media are less risky and more remunerative than the stage and therefore ends by spending most of his (or her) time in their comparative safety. In films or in TV the actor is rarely required to undertake anything artistically challenging. The result is usually a glowing mediocrity.

I go into this matter now, because due to a more or less successful season—successful by the depressed standards established since 1945—we may accept the status quo as the happy norm. The truth is that the theatre with us—as far as acting goes, at any rate—is something like a party at which everyone becomes ecstatic over the improvised entertainment of one of the guests.

It may not be economically feasible at present for our country to maintain several true theatres (permanent companies with some continuous and coherent program) instead of relying on the emergence of desultory talent by the haphazard production of a series of single shows. It is nonetheless necessary to remind ourselves occasionally that in the past twenty-five years our acting profession has brought forth hardly a half-dozen stage talents that have revealed any steady development. There is no equivalent among us of a Laurence Olivier—whose *Richard III* in pictures and whose *Titus Andronicus* and *Macbeth* at Stratford-on-Avon last spring were greeted as peaks in his career; we know no one like Gerard Philipe in Paris, a screen star as well as the chief luminary of the Theatre Populaire National in which he appears (at admirably reduced prices) in roles in plays by Kleist, Corneille, Racine, Shakespeare.

IT IS not primarily the actor's fault that his career with us is measured in terms of prosperity rather than in those of maturity. Yet it is stupid and cowardly of actors to believe or to assert that they are, in this regard, simply "victims of the system." The artist *creates* a system for his own development. The artist—and it need not be a presumption for the publicly recognized actor to conduct himself as an artist—has his own pride because in a certain way he feels himself quite special. It is right and healthy that he should do so. But he is not special in any way when he equates the success of his career with a business man's success. To do so is to negate himself as an artist.

These are untimely thoughts: if we are to have a theatre worth discussing at all we had better return to them once in a while.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

AMONG Russian recordings of Oistrakh's performances that revealed not only mastery of the violin but flawless musical taste was one of Mozart's Violin Concerto K.219 on Period 590, which I played again just before Oistrakh's broadcast with the New York Philharmonic. With the pure tone and simple sustained phrasing of the recorded performance fresh in my mind I wasn't prepared for the tone that was made over-rich by vibrato, the phrasing that was made over-expressive by swells on single notes and occasional portamento, in the performance of K.219 with the Philharmonic. Oistrakh's playing sounded better in the new Shostakovitch Violin Concerto; as for the work itself, it brought to mind Shaw's remarks about a performance of Saint-Saens's *Samson et Dalila* in London. The French were obligated to listen to the opera of a French composer, just as the English had to endure their oratorios; but Shaw was "strongly of the opinion that each nation should bear its own burden in this department of life. We do not ask the Parisians to share the weight of [Parry's] *Job* with us; then let them not foist on to us the load of *Samson*." The Americans now in Russia are not performing Menotti or William Schuman there; let Oistrakh, in turn, give us Prokofiev but spare us Shostakovitch.

CONCERNING Angel's recording of all of Mozart's piano music performed by Gieseking, one thing to say is that it acquaints us with a number of pieces which most of us have never heard—the earliest interesting chiefly for what they reveal about Mozart's initial talent and its development; some later ones interesting only as exercises of his exquisite craftsmanship; and others achieving impressive effect as works of art. And another thing to say is that Gieseking's playing is finely chiseled and sensitive but often without sufficient force; and that in slow tempo it often lacks sustained tension. Some of the unfamiliar pieces, however, are played with the force and tension that are lacking in the familiar sonatas.

Of the records I have listened to so far, 35068 offers several of the earliest pieces; the Six Variations K.180 on a theme of Salieri, in which one hears the operation of matured powers; and three late works: the fine Sonata K.570, and the unfamiliar Adagio K.356 for harmonica and Rondo K.616, both with remarkable modulations of key. Record 30569 has the best-known Sonata K.331, with its impressive minuet movement; the Sonata K.282, with its unusual Adagio opening movement; the Suite K.399, with interesting and attractive Mozartian transformations of Handelian styles in its Allemande and Courante; the Minuet K.355, a small but fine late piece; the Fantasy K.397 in D minor, whose Adagio is a miniature example of declamatory vocal style; and the Twelve Variations K.265 on *Ah, vous dirai-je, maman*, with two impressive slow variations.

No. 35070 offers the powerful Sonata K.310; the Sonata K.280, an excellent display piece; and several first-rate unfamiliar pieces: the Twelve Variations K.179 on a minuet of J. C. Fischer; the Adagio K.540; the Six Variations K.54, a late work with a wonderful variation in minor mode. No. 35071 has the powerful Fantasy K.475 and Sonata K.457; the Sonata K.333, with its fine opening movement; and the unfamiliar Twelve Variations K.353 on *La Belle Francoise*, a good work in which the slow variation is outstanding. No. 35072 offers the Sonatas K.279 and 311, of which the finales are good; and two unfamiliar pieces: the Fantasy and Fugue K.394, which I find uninteresting; and the Eight Variations K.513 on *Ein Weib ist ein herrliches Ding*, of which Variation 6 in minor mode, the slow No. 7 and the elaborate No. 8 are outstanding. And 35073 has the extraordinary Sonata K.533, remarkable in the large scale and contrapuntal elaboration of the Allegro, the startling harmonic progressions that achieve the utmost in expressive intensity in the Andante; in addition to which there are several less impressive pieces: the Rondo K.494, which Mozart published with K.533 as a concluding movement; the Sonata K.284; the sonata movement K.312; and the Fugue K.401.

A feature of these Mozart recordings that calls for mention is the accompanying notes on the music by William Glock, the English critic who wrote the richly perceptive notes for the Webster Aitken performances of Schubert sonatas on EMS records. He exhibits the same perception now, with only one difference—that when he deals with the lesser or uninteresting pieces he claims more for the details he points out than they really deserve.

THERE is good playing by Yves Nat in Beethoven's Sonata Op. 31 No. 2 and the first and last movements of the Sonata Op. 53 *(Waldstein)* on Haydn Society 144; but the middle movement of Op. 53 is played Andante con moto, with a loss of the meaning and effect it has when played Adagio as Beethoven directs.

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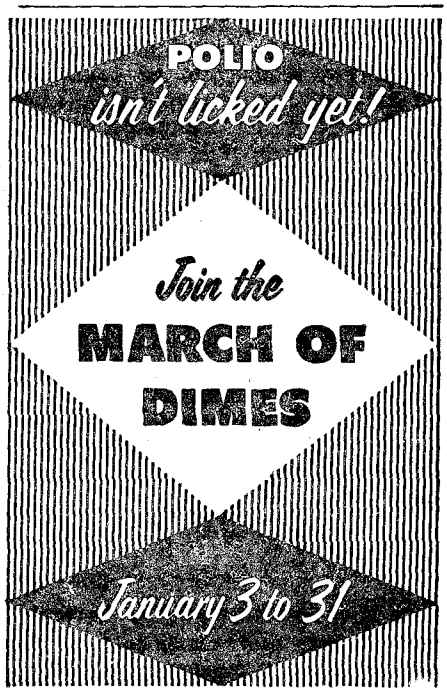

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The Sonatas Op. 49 Nos. 1 and 2 are also on the record.

Nat plays Schumann's *Papillons, Kinderszenen,* Romances Op. 28 and Arabeske very poetically, but hasn't the bravura technique required by the Toccata. The accompanying notes by Ralph Bates elaborate on the importance of the relation of the literary and musical images in Schumann's music, but never get around to listing the series of titles for the pieces in *Kinderszenen.*

ANDA'S performance of Schumann's *Carnival* on Angel 35247 is eccentric in tempo and mannered in phrasing, and without continuity and grace in its flow. *Kreisleriana* also is on the record.

Schumann's *Noveletten* Op. 21 I find uninteresting; and Blancard's playing of them on London LL-1266 I find ineffective.

In Lenore Engdahl's performances of Griffes's *Roman Sketches* Op. 7 for piano on MGM E-3225 one doesn't hear as clear articulation and shaping of the pieces and as beautiful playing of the piano as in Hambro's performances on the older Walden record. Miss Engdahl also plays the earlier Three Tone-Pictures Op. 5 and Fantasy Pieces Op. 6, which are in the same French-impressionist style and at times very lovely.

Letters

Disagreement on Brazil

Dear Sirs: Paulo Duarte's article, "Betrayal in Brazil," in The Nation for November 19 is replete with factual and interpretive errors and, more important, places your journal in the peculiar position of publishing a plea for the armed overthrow of an elected government. Typical is the author's statement that Getulio Vargas was elected President of Brazil in 1930 and his reference to an unsuccessful coup in 1932 as aiming to preserve "the constitutional principles of 1930 that were being betrayed by Vargas." The fact is that Julio Prestes defeated Vargas in 1930 and the latter then seized power. Thus, there were no "constitutional principles" to "preserve," unless Duarte means by those words the overthrow of an elected government.

Comment might also be made on his statement about the masses becoming "intoxicated by Communist propaganda" at a time when that party had been illegal and its leaders in jail for eight years.

Of greater importance, however, is Duarte's arrogation to himself and his group of "clear-sighted, democratic-minded Brazilians," twice defeated in national elections, the right to decide themselves who is to be Brazil's President. Orderly development of democracy in Brazil cannot come about through the seizure of government by self-proclaimed saviors of their country.

HERMAN STAROBIN
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: Mr. Duarte takes the position of the most reactionary, anti-constitutional elements in Brazilian life today—those who would use force to overturn the elections of October 3 at which Juscelino Kubitschek and Joao Goulart were chosen Brazil's next President and Vice President. By Latin American standards, Brazil's elections were democratic, and the outcome was clearly a victory for those who favored retaining the social gains won under the Vargas administration. (Vargas was certainly no angel, but demagogue though he was, he was forced to make certain concessions to the powerful Brazilian labor movement.) Perhaps even more, the election was a victory for nationalists who oppose United States control of Brazil's economy, especially its oil.

The counter-coup which took place on November 11 probably could have happened in no other country. To find the army acting on behalf of constitutional regularity is unfortunately all too rare in Latin America, but the Brazilian army has a tradition of opposition to foreign economic and political control.

BETTY MILLARD
Editor, Latin America Today
New York, N. Y.

Big-Money Farming

Dear Sirs: In your issue of December 3, Professor Gaffney scoffs at interpreting the trend of big-money farming "as a move toward greater efficiency," for the reason that "good land may be underused in achieving high output per man and per machine." Nevertheless, the last fact remains and explains the first. "Underuse" is an irrelevancy in terms of a private-profit economy and in the face of agricultural "surpluses." So also are some of his explanations for buying up land ("as a provision for grandchildren" or "social position to facilitate advantageous alliances"). That small farms have proportionately higher investment in buildings and machinery is a well-known fact which only serves to emphasize the greater profitability (*i. e. "efficiency" under capitalism*) of the large farms "achieving high output per man and per machine." Concentration of land ownership is analogous to concentration of capital in general, and the "superior ability of large landholders to secure political favors" also seems a familiar pattern. Therefore it would appear that the problem of big-business agriculture is part of a general problem, though with specific aspects.

Professor Gaffney offers interesting reasoning for land redistribution by propounding "the basic economic principle of transferring resources from where they are abundant to where they are scarce." The undersigned would like to inquire if Professor Gaffney knows of a bank which is practicing the "basic economic principle" by transferring money from their richer depositors to the poorer.

HARRY GRUNDFEST
New York, N. Y.

Information Requested

Dear Sirs: I am working on a study of the political philosophy of Mr. Justice Hugo L. Black. I would be most grateful if any Nation readers in possession of relevant letters, documents, or other information would correspond with me.

DANIEL M. BERMAN
Herbew Union College
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Message from India

Dear Sirs: This letter is being written on behalf of the members of our study circle, of which I happen to be secretary. Though our acquaintance with The Nation has been quite recent, I have no hesitation in saying that we like it most of the several American magazines that we get. It is so refreshingly different. For us Indians it epitomizes the America of Washington, Lincoln, and Jefferson. Against great odds you have been carrying on a magnificent fight for civil liberties which is probably unparalleled in the annals of American journalism. . . . We are not using the language of mere convention — we mean every word of it when we say that we wish you many, many happy returns on your ninetieth birthday.

C. S. PILLAI
Kulasekarapuram, S. India.

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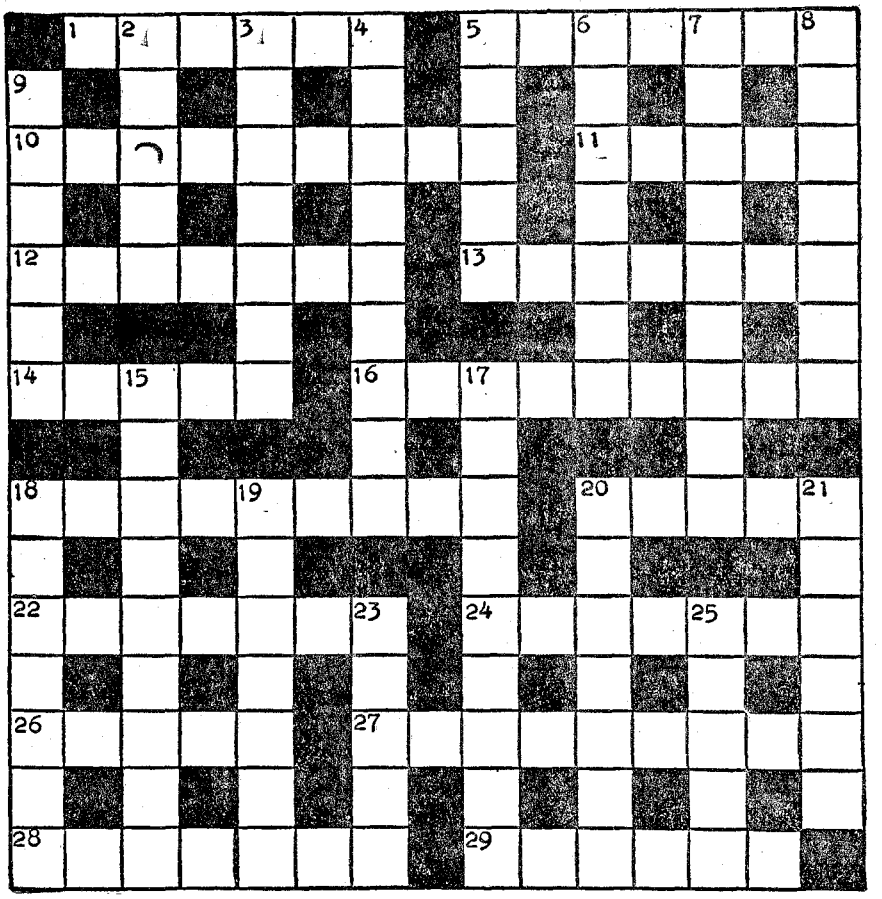
Crossword Puzzle No. 655

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Gets over the plate. (6)
5 Look at this! Its a sort of counterpart! (7)
10 Drill the musicians like the early London militia. (9)
11 One way of getting capital N, also. (5)
12 Survive. (7)
13 Cut in, or make trouble. (7)
14 However, this kind of concern isn't for the departed! (5)
16 Is the wire so tangled contrarily? (9)
18 Record revolutionary, it seems in doubt. (9)
20 Franklin said we should have picked a "turky" instead. (5)
22 and 5 down The purpose of choosing food (especially when raised at home?). (5,2,5)
24 Cicero's friend is just another story to us. (7)
26 First under poetic conditions, then a contraction. (5)
27 A minor tiff with me and my friend? (We'll probably have to learn to think so!) (9)
28 8 might be. (It's the wrong way down!) (7)
29 Lent in preparation for it, though it has nothing to do with 11. (6)

DOWN

2 See 3 down.
3 and 2 Fisherman's skill, or that of a pilot? (7,5)
4 A Hawaiian might have asked for it because of the bad heat, and stood around. (9)
5 See 22 across.
6 A Justice of the Peace isn't the film kind. (7)
7 Getting the idea of making a profit? (9)
8 Prime character. (7)
9 This arm is beat up. (6)
15 Eating its product is to cause trouble. (9)
17 Current of air? (Strike an acceptable standard with drink!) (3,6)
18 A sort of ship and shepherd. (7)
19 The cart is upset with a click. (7)
20 Imposes least in the way of it. (7)
21 Tries a product of bacon and lamb, if both are proper. (6)
23 United, like many electrical appliances. (5)
25 Her calling was more or less popular song, but she loved 18 down. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 654

ACROSS: 1 BIOLOGIST; 9 and 6 across STATION BREAK; 10 DU BARRY; 11 and 16 TWO-BY-FOUR; 12 UPRISE; 13 OHIO; 15 ASSYRIAN; 18 HEAVEN; 20 POLECATS; 23 SOHO; 24 CALLER; 25 CUE; 28 UNSLUNG; 29 WITTIER; 30 THOSE; 31 DUDE RANCH. DOWN: 1 BESET; 2 ORATORS; 3 OBITUARIES; 4 INNER MAN; 6 BABE; 7, 26, 19, 15 down and 5 EARTH TO EARTH, ASHES TO ASHES, DUST TO DUST; 8 KEYBOARDS; 14 TYPEWRITER; 17 FOLLOWED; 21 AUCTION; 22 TAGGED; 27 LURE.

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